TWO PAGES OF NEWS AND PICTURES OF WASHINGTON PILGRIMAGE . . . 6-7

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THE CRUCIBLE: AN AMERICAN WRITER MAKES THE TEST

Playwright Arthur Miller, shown above with Mrs. Miller at the time of their marriage last June, underwent his trial ordeal in Washington last week (see below). In a speech in New York the week before he examined the conditions of freedom for American writers (see p. 5).

COMMITTEE FILES SACRED?

Miller trial judge refuses to bar 'hearsay' evidence

ARTHUR MILLER, Pulitzer Prize playwright, on trial for contempt of Congress, lost a round on May 20 when the judge refused to strike from the record government testimony described by the defense as "hearsay evidence . . . adduced by hearsay."

Miller was indicted for refusing to name past associates at a hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities last year. The government charges that he was a member of the Communist Party from 1943 to 1947, but defense requests to examine committee files on which the allegation is based were rejected.

The government was expected to rest its case on May 21. The defense indicated it would call an "expert witness" in Miller's behalf.

TWO TOO MANY: Miller went on trial

(Continued on Page 5)

PEACE NAVY FRUSTRATED

World fury rises as British drop Christmas I. Bomb

By Elmer Bendiner

ON MAY 15 somewhere between Beirut, Lebanon, and New Delhi, India, a 64-year-old Englishman was flying to keep an appointment near Christmas Island in the Pacific. It might have been with death. Harold Steele of Malvern, Worcestershire, was trying to put himself between the Hydrogen Bomb and the world and defy his government to explode it. The "Peace Navy" he had hoped to join had been scuttled, mainly because of pressure from the Japanese government, but Steele was hoping to salvage it in India.

On board the plane he told a reporter for the London **Observer**: "I have been in peace movements all my life. We never seem to get anywhere. Governments always seem able to fob us off."

While Steele was heading for India, an air crew of five in a Valiant bomber, painted white to reflect nuclear flashes away from the plane, returned to Christmas Island, 1,200 miles south of Hawaii, with word of mission accomplished.

THE NEW MEMBER: Official British communiques gave few details of the mission except to note that it was the first of a series of explosions and that it was at high altitude, somewhere within a radius of 90 miles from Christmas Island. Authoritative sources said that Britain had marked its entrance into the exclusive club of atom wielders by touching off its own hydrogen bomb.

In Japan meteorologists noted upheavals in the atmosphere which, they said, were "at least as heavy" as on the day in 1954 when U. S. planes dropped a hydrogen bomb on a Bikini atoll. Then they waited for the rains to fall—rains that would be freighted with a deadly radioactivity.

In 1954 the fishing schooner Fortunate Dragon received a shower of radioactive ash though it was beyond the forbidden area staked out by the engineers of the Bikini blast. All the crew suffered from radiation burns and the radio operator, Aikichi Kuboyama, died months later of the fall-out effects.

A RESIDUE OF DUST: Later in 1954 Prof. Yasushi Nishiwaki of Osaka Univ. medical school told members of the British House of Commons: "When rain fell on the glass houses in the Atsumi Peninsula in mid-March, the dust residue after it dried off was found to be radioactive to a degree of 10 to 100 times above normal . . . each time it has rained since then the dust deposited by the rain has been radioactive . . . We know that the rain water that was contaminated by this

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1,000 TO HEAR SINGER DENIED U.S. PASSPORT

Robeson sings to London by telephone

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

ON SUNDAY, MAY 26, Washington's cold war on its own citizens was to produce across the ocean a spectacle probably unique in history: an audience listening to a world-famous artist perform by telephone from captivity.

In London 1,000 music lovers impatient to hear Paul Robeson sing again, but prevented by the U. S. State Dept.'s denial of a passport, were to hear his voice "live" from the bare stage of St. Pancras Town Hall. A trans-Atlantic phone circuit had been booked for a quarter of an hour by the Paul Robeson Committee and Robeson was to sing from New York as star of a concert given by British and African artists in his honor.

Before the concert an all-day Robeson conference was to be attended by delegates of over 100 trade union, Co-Operative and other organizations.

The conference and concert were highlights of a London campaign by the Paul Robeson Committee, founded in Manchester in December 1955 "to invite Robeson to Britain to sing and request the American government to allow him to come." By this month the "free Robeson" movement had spread into broader British circles than any Western civil liberties issue since the zenith of Joe McCarthy. Dozens of prominent people in the arts and sciences had expressed their indignation at the political victimization of an artist who became a popular idol here in pre- and post-war years (see p. 9). Committee sponsors ranged from the Bishop of Birmingham and St. Paul's Cathedral's Canon Collins to 16 MPs and leaders of major trade unions. Through affiliated organizations the committee had the support of some 5,000,000 British workers. Local committees were still being formed around the country, the latest in Huddersfield, Coventry and Newcastle.

BEAUTIFUL TROUBLEMAKER: Petitions to President Eisenhower "to intercede favorably" were circulating all over Britain and Lord Beaverbrook's super-imperialist **Sunday Express** testified to the movement's effectiveness with an onslaught by editor-in-chief John Gordon who wrote:

"He [Robeson] has been a powerful and unceasing critic of Britain, a persistent maker of trouble throughout the Empire. Yet now he wants us to put

(Continued on Page 9)

PAUL ROBESON

In his "Othello" beard

THE MAIL BAG

Stop the race

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I am one of many Americans deeply concerned over "the Fight for Survival." I'm distributing the **McCall's** reprint and the one from **The Progressive**. But the last paragraph of your "Stop the Race" is one that made enough of an impression for me to write. I too am for settling gladly right now for the germ of a non-partisan group to ban atomic weapons. I'm writing Stevenson to urge him to speak out and to lead a national crusade to save America's moral conscience. **Ben Kocel**

●

WINNIPEG, MAN.

I cannot see how any plans for a universe of tomorrow can be considered unless immediate action is taken to prevent the further destruction of mankind.

Unless the war-makers are removed from offices of authority, there will be no action towards preventing the total collapse of human life on earth. **G. Nasir**

●

CRAWFORD, NEB.

LAMAR, Mo. (AP)—The United Auto Workers Union has bought the house in which Harry S. Truman was born and plans to turn it into a shrine.

I recommend for the "shrine," as Exhibit A:

The skull of a Hiroshima baby, who departed this life on August 6, 1945, at 8:15 a.m., from an atomic flash. **H.E.K.**

●

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

This letter has gone to 1,000 Massachusetts citizens. If you feel as we do that continuing the bomb tests is mad and suicidal, then you will help by writing one in the next few days, and getting a friend to write one also.

We believe that the President and his aides will watch for every expression of opinion by ordinary citizens. Of course, the President won't see your letter, but **your letter will be reckoned;** we are certain that the total volume of letters and the trend of opinion will be made known to him.

Florence H. Luscomb
Mary Rackliffe
Walter A. O'Brien

●

CLEVELAND, O.

What good is prosperity if it consists of producing for an atomic war? Everything will be wiped out, including ourselves.

We work on war goods because it's a well-paying job, not caring to see the end result—annihilation.

I oppose the war program on purely selfish grounds—I want to live!

Name Withheld

●

LONG ISLAND CITY, N.Y.

The first link in this chain letter was forged in Bangor, Maine, by a Pacific War veteran who remembers the ruins of Hiroshima. Within a week the chain stretched across the country by way of a Boston cancer specialist, a New York garment worker, a truck farmer in Kentucky, a Texas oil rigger, an atomic scientist in New Mexico and a Hollywood actress. Today the chain joins every state in the Union:

"Everywhere, the world's wise men are speaking up, pleading with us to halt atomic tests before it is too late. Pope Pius XII, Dr. Albert Schweitzer, Dr. Otto Hahn (first man to split the atom) and many of the foremost scientists in England, France, Germany and Japan. Our own Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel Prize winner, fears 10,000 are already dead or dying from tests to date.

"Keep this chain going by sending this letter and at least two copies to other people. Then, write a postcard, letter or telegram to President Eisenhower, The White House, Washington, D.C., or to one of your U.S. Senators, The United States Senate, Washington, D.C.

"If millions of messages reach Washington, the tests will end. (Russia has already agreed to end tests if we do.) You can help make this happen. Act today." **W.S.**

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Employes in the Pentagon can obtain the latest weather reports by dialing extension 7-9355. A recorded voice then gives the latest weather data and concludes: "This information is for military use only and dissemination to the public is not authorized."

—The Open Forum,
April, 1957

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Mrs. H. E. Rose, Los Angeles, Calif.

●

THOMASTON, CONN.

(This poem was written not long after the first atomic bomb was dropped.)

Now, Mortal Man, this solemn
  warning heed:
Primeval Force is stirring with
  restless might.
If, greed-inspired, ye seek this
  might to wield,
Your world will vanish like a
  flash of light
In cataclysmic crash; you with
  your works
Will fade into the mists from
  whence ye came.
No vestige of your being shall
  survive,
No faintest echo whisper of your
  fame.
One moment of blinding chaos;
  then in your place
Th' eternal, brooding mystery of
  Space.

Mac Browne

●

By any other name

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

As the British were determined to go through with their bomb tests on Christmas Island, might I suggest that, after the fact, they change the name to Devil's Island. This way they would not be desecrating an island named in honor of the Prince of Peace. The new name would be more compatible. **Charles M. Rockwell**

An English oar

BIRMINGHAM, ENGLAND

Some two years ago I took the liberty of offering a few hints, based on experience, to the sponsors of a United States Socialist Party, the formation of which was then under discussion. Now that the subject has again cropped up, I venture again to dip in my oar.

Under the existing set-up, your boasted democracy is a tragic farce; both of your national political parties stand for big business, capitalist expansion and world domination; all the candidates for whom you vote are selected and nominated by the plutocracy which owns and controls both parties. The interests of that plutocracy are their sole consideration; the common people have nothing to hope for from either.

Your government has openly and shamelessly established a fund for the express purpose of promoting treason, sabotage and espionage in other countries, an act of deliberate provocation and hostility without precedent in the history of nations.

The UN, devised by wise and good men to promote the peaceful settlement of international disputes and to abolish war as an instrument of policy, has been prostituted by little Caesars to the base uses of rampant imperialism; its Assembly, packed with dependent stooges, used as a rubber-stamp to sanction any act of piracy or landgrabbing which any one of the imperialist powers may deem it politic to commit.

Creatures of the great combines infest your public institutions; professional spies and informers infest your towns and cities; frame-ups are a commonplace in your courts of "justice"; and any public-spirited "freeborn" American who has the temerity to advocate any fundamental alteration of "our way of life" stands in peril of the loss of both liberty and life. Cases in point abound.

The only remedy for this state of affairs is, in my opinion, a third party, a socialist party. Around this party could rally the thousands of isolated socialists and progressives at present doomed to political impotence.

Let "Socialism vs. Parasitism" be your battle cry.

The fight will be long and bitter; mountains of ignorance and apathy will have to be overcome; that is the inevitable fate of all worthwhile effort. But victory is sure and the reward great beyond all estimating.

John W. Barraclough

Noble dollars

SANTA ROSA, CALIF.

Enclosed two noble dollars that somehow escaped the profit wolves.

Fellows like you are the salt of the planet we call earth. If you can pull the belt in another hole so can I. **John Radu**

N. Y. Herald Tribune

"If it's safe to explode H-bombs, why aren't firecrackers on the Fourth safe?"

Convert

CUMMINGTON, MASS.

Your articles on capital punishment have converted one person for good. I have had some lingering doubts about abolishing capital punishment but I have none now, in view of the two glaring facts that the innocent are often executed and that only poor people pay that penalty. One has only to think of Harry Thaw, of Leopold and Loeb, to realize that shameful truth.

I have been much interested in the many letters proposing the formation of a new party on a basis that will attract the maximum number of decent Americans. I suggest that a "Constitution Party" with the single aim of restoring the almost defunct U.S. Constitution, enforcing it as it now stands and compelling the President and all members of Congress to keep the oaths they swore on taking office, might provide a very broad basis; at least I hope there are enough honest, loyal Americans left to make a formidable group.

Margaret A. Fellows

●

Vs. capital punishment

VENTNOR, N.J.

As always, I read the GUARDIAN with interest. For instance, Elmer Bendiner's article, "Does capital punishment deter murder?" I think it is wrong that any state justice should be allowed to take a life even of a guilty prisoner. Our government doesn't know the commandment that says: "Thou shalt not kill!"

A. Dornblatt

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REPORT TO READERS

The Forum 'Mob'

LOOK INTO THIS MOB. This big, black, all-caps headline appeared over a terse N.Y. **Daily News** editorial the morning after the first public announcement May 13 of the formation of the American Forum for Socialist Education (GUARDIAN 5/20). The **News** editorial wound up thus:

"We suggest that the Senate Internal Security Committee look into this mob without delay; also, that the Attorney-General make inquiries as to whether he oughtn't to add it swiftly to his list of subversive organizations."

(As the GUARDIAN went to press the Senate Committee referred to was busily passing out subpenas, just as the **News** suggested. More on this next week.)

The N.Y. **Times** also printed an editorial, a half-column long, on the new organization, much more sedate, of course, but viewing with alarm, too. The **Times** couldn't see why anybody in this country should still be interested in socialism since "more than a decade and a half of essentially full employment have confounded the prophets of 'inevitable capitalist depression'," but "given our tradition of free speech, we cannot quarrel with the right of socialists to discuss their ideas, even though we believe life has shown Marx was completely wrong about capitalism's future."

The **Times'** alarm was over the fact that Communists might take part in the discussion. Said the **Times:**

"Any organization which permits the Communists to weaken or break their past isolation from the mainstream of our society does both the country and the cause of socialism a disservice."

THE TIMES' concern over doing the cause of socialism a disservice is certainly news it never saw fit to print before; the rest is fairly standard **Times** libertarianism; radical talk is o.k., so long as there is no clear and present danger of its getting anywhere.

What has irked the **News** and **Times** (and N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, too; more later on this)) is that the Rev. A. J. Muste, pacifist and reconciler extraordinary, has actually succeeded in getting old Socialists, Communists, Trotskyists and a whole spectrum of other tints and hues of Leftism, along with some of the most important thought-leaders in the country, to declare just enough of a truce to air their differences in public forum debate through the new American Forum. This promises something quite different from the "safe" Hyde Park or "Bughouse Square" style of soap-boxing. These Forum fellows just might find some areas of agreement and go off in a corner somewhere and plot united action for civil liberties, say, or no more H-bomb tests; and that might be subversive of our two-party system.

The **Herald Tribune**'s "Red" expert, FBI stoolpigeon Herbert A. (**"I Led Three Lives"**) Philbrick, based a meandering Sunday article on the American Forum May 19, reminding his readers that he had been warning of some such development since October, 1955, when he got secret word that the Cominform had ordered its agents here to "advance the cause of socialism."

WE ARE DELIGHTED that the mere proposition that the Left argue in public has brought such editorial consternation in its wake. The American Forum, which hasn't even got a treasurer yet, could not have bought all the ensuing publicity with a $10,000 slush fund.

To you, we want to repeat the **Daily News'** admonition: LOOK INTO THIS MOB! Has your bailiwick suffered from "badly split" forces which "have spent much of their energy assailing each other" (**N. Y. Times**)? Then perhaps your town needs "a forum for mutual discussion, a forum from which conceivably new united fronts could arise" (**N. Y. Times, again**).

In any case, get in touch with Rev. Muste, c/o **Liberation**, 110 Christopher St., New York 14, N.Y. If you can send a contribution, do so, if only just for mimeograph paper. Apparently that's all the Forum needs at this moment to send the people's capitalist press into high dudgeon.

—THE GUARDIAN

Death on taxes

PROVO, UTAH

Hearty congratulations on your two articles, "The Truth About Taxes." I have been hammering away on the tax question for several years and have not made a dent. So I think more than two articles are needed. Keep it up. So will I. Conditions are bound to get worse, and when they get so bad the people can't stand it any longer, then a change, an improvement will be made, and our efforts will speed the good work and be appreciated. **E. A. Mitchell**

BAD YEAR FOR LABOR

The assault on unions gets rolling

By Lawrence Emery

IT'S OPEN SEASON on labor. The whoop-de-doo stirred up by the McClellan committee's disclosures of Dave Beck's easy way with union money has inspired other government agencies and Congressional committees to join the happy hunting.

- The Subversive Activities Control Board on May 13 began action against the independent United Electrical Workers, the second union it has tackled; it has been holding hearings against the independent Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers since February of this year.
- The House Committee on Un-American Activities early this month went to Baltimore to look into "the extent of penetration of industry" there by "subversives" and more probes are planned.
- James Eastland's Senate Internal Security subcommittee has begun its own investigation of labor with the independent American Communications Assn. and the huge Ford Local of the AFL-CIO United Auto Workers its first targets.
- The McClellan committee itself now plans to branch out for its own look at the UAW and the big steelworkers union.

THE 1954 ACT: The SACB is moving against the UE under the Communist Control Act of 1954 which defines "communist-infiltrated" unions and provides that they be denied recognition by the Natl. Labor Relations Board. The measure was proposed by liberal Democrats to prove they were as rough on reds as the McCarthy Republicans and it was stamped into law in the closing hours of the 83rd Congress on a wave of hysteria in which only two No votes were cast.

The Chicago **News** said of both Houses of Congress that "they have behaved like mobs." The Washington **Star** called the act "a piece of hastily drawn dubiously useful legislation inspired more by political motives than by a desire to strike at communists." The **Wall Street Journal** called it "a product of political skulduggery . . . We think President Eisenhower has no choice except to veto a bill with such a legislative history."

But there was no veto and Atty. Gen. Brownell invoked the law against the UE on Dec. 20, 1955, during the height of a strike against Westinghouse, one of the hardest-fought of modern labor battles.

INFORMER TESTIFIES: As hearings got under way in a New York Federal courthouse, the law was challenged on a variety of grounds by UE spokesman Julius Emspak and UE attorneys Frank Donner and Arthur Kinoy. SACB member R. Lockwood Jones, a Republican lawyer from Oklahoma recently appointed to the job, set May 27 for argument on defense motions but ordered the hearings to proceed.

First government witness was Alex Wright, 75, who revealed himself as an undercover FBI informer since 1942 when he turned up as a witness in 1955 in a Smith Act trial in Cleveland. Never a member of the UE himself, he was tagged by the union as "a professional FBI political spy." He testified that he had known some UE officers in the Pittsburgh area as members of the CP.

THE RECORD SET STRAIGHT: In his opening statement, Emspak stressed the democratic processes in his union and said "the obvious fact is that a union like UE run by its membership cannot be dominated by any outside force." He corrected the false charge that the union had been expelled from the CIO and said it had withdrawn: "The very reason why the UE left the CIO was because it refused to accept the political domination of the CIO leadership on behalf of Democratic Party machine politics . . . The accusation that the UE is politically dominated is a flat and deliberate lie."

THE PRESS SWARMS IN TO GET THE LATEST ON THE SENATE RACKETS PROBE
Chief counsel Kennedy (c., back to camera) holds an impromptu conference after a hearing.

SHIFT TO DENVER: Brownell petitioned the SACB to determine if the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers is "communist-infiltrated" on July 28, 1955, during the fourth week of a strike against three of the country's biggest non-ferrous metal companies. Hearings began in Washington in February this year and early this month were transferred to Denver, the union's headquarters city.

Mine, Mill's executive board on Oct. 3, 1955, issued a statement of policy in which it said: "We unqualifiedly and loyally support our American form of government and reaffirm our faith and belief in our democratic institutions. We do not believe nor do we advocate that communism is the solution to the problems of the American working people."

A VICIOUS FORCE: This declaration had no effect on the SACB, which went ahead with the hearings. The union's paper in its current issue headlines its report on the continuing action: "Tax Money Wasted at SACB Hearings." It describes the procedure as "a circus-parade of witnesses" who are producing "a collection of fairy tales" and comments: "Most of the witnesses' testimony being presented as 'evidence' against this union would be a farce if its intent wasn't so vicious."

The report was particularly derisive of witness Kenneth Eckert, former Mine, Mill board member and a frequent government witness in similar cases. Mine, Mill attorney Nathan Witt moved that Eckert's testimony be stricken as coming from a "liar and perjurer." Eckert went to work for the United Auto Workers in 1948 and is still on the payroll as a representative of that union.

CP CHALLENGES BOARD: The SACB, which now has jurisdiction over unions cited by the Attorney General, was originally established under the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 and its first target was the Communist Party itself, which was charged with being a foreign-dominated organization. An SACB order that the CP register as such was handed down in April, 1953, but the Supreme Court sent the case back to the board on the ground that the testimony of three government witnesses was "tainted." The board deleted their testimony but reaffirmed its order.

On May 14 attorneys for the CP filed a new brief with the U.S. Court of Appeals in which they said: "We contend that where a witness for the Attorney General has been shown guilty of a whole series of self-contradictions on material matters, his trustworthiness is subject to the gravest suspicion, and that where this is shown not of one, but of at least nine witnesses, the Attorney General's entire case is suspect."

TAFT-HARTLEY CASES: The government is also using the Taft-Hartley non-communist affidavit as another prong in its attack on labor. The case of Clinton Jencks, former Mine, Mill official, is on appeal to the Supreme Court. An appeal from an eight-year sentence by Maurice Travis, former Mine, Mill secretary-treasurer, is pending before a lower court and awaits the outcome of the Jencks case. In addition, 14 past and present members of Mine, Mill and eight persons in Cleveland, O., are awaiting trial on conspiracy charges connected with filing non-communist affidavits.

BALTIMORE HEARINGS: During the second week of this month, the House Committee on Un-American Activities held hearings in Baltimore which turned up no information but resulted in loss of employment for 14 workers who refused to talk. Six were employes of Bethlehem Steel and members of the AFL-CIO Steelworkers Union, four were Bethlehem shipyard employes and several were machinists and mechanics.

The Senate Internal Security subcommittee on May 9 questioned several leaders and members of the independent American Communications Assn. All refused to talk and three of them lost their jobs. Last year the same committee conducted a probe of the independent Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union in Hawaii; three of the uncooperative witnesses are facing action under the so-called Immunity Act which provides an automatic jail sentence for silence. Many in Washington believe these excursions were intended to bring both unions before the SACB.

GUNS TRAINED ON UAW: The official labor movement has looked the other way during all these attacks on independent unions and individual union members and now itself is beginning to feel the government heat.

On May 14 the Eastland subcommittee questioned four officials of Ford Local 600 of the United Auto Workers, largest union local in the world. All four had been questioned five years ago by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and had declined to answer questions. The four this time were quizzed in executive session; they included Paul Boatin, newly-elected chairman of the Ford Dearborn engine plant. Boatin in a brief public session admitted CP membership for about ten years up to 1949, but said he became disillusioned.

But **Labor's Daily** for May 16 reported that he had been expelled in that year over differences of opinion and said: "It is understood that during the executive session Boatin named several others as having been communists during his period of membership."

THE KOHLER STRIKE: This seemed part of a larger attack on the UAW in the near future. On May 9 it became known that the McClellan committee has assigned investigators to look into the three-year-old UAW strike against the Kohler Co. in Wisconsin. A week later Sen. McClellan himself said the Kohler probe is being conducted carefully because the strike is still on and "this committee was not created for the purpose of settling strikes." Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.), one of the most active of anti-labor Congressmen, meanwhile reported that he had compiled a report on the Kohler strike listing 800 acts of violence.

The teamsters' union, angered at UAW president Walter Reuther for his attacks on Dave Beck and his suggestion that a rival teamster's union be formed, was abetting a Congressional investigation of the UAW. Early in May the teamsters' union issued a "Special Report" attacking Reuther and recalling an extended visit he made to the Soviet Union as a young man. The report said that "many believe he had more than an outsider's participation" in the Senate probe of Beck and charged that he welcomed it because it diverts public attention from "UAW's record of violence and rioting in the Kohler and Perfect Circle strikes."

A LOOK INTO STEEL: It also became known on May 9 that the McClellan committee had begun a "preliminary investigation" of the Steelworkers' Union and its president, David McDonald. An assistant counsel of the committee said the probers were "actively interested" in charges of "irregularities" and improper use of union funds in the recent election in which Donald Rarick, insurgent rank-and-filer, received 35% of the votes cast. But no one connected with the committee would say who brought the charges to the committee's attention.

T-H AMENDMENT: With all this brewing, Sen. Goldwater has quietly introduced in Congress amendments to the Taft-Hartley law which Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) has denounced as "the most vicious to come before the U.S. Congress in half a century." Goldwater said he introduced them with the approval of the White House; Morse countered by challenging Secy. of Labor James P. Mitchell and President Eisenhower to denounce them publicly.

To keep things going, the Eastland subcommittee announced on May 16 that it would conduct a series of hearings in Philadelphia in June to look for "subversion" in that area.

All told, 1957 didn't seem to be labor's best year.

GOING TO SUPREME COURT

Appeals Court turns down Sobell plea for new trial

THE CASE of Morton Sobell, convicted with Ethel and Julius Rosenberg in 1951 for conspiracy to commit espionage and now serving a 30-year sentence in Alcatraz, is headed for the Supreme Court for a third time. The court will be asked to review the denial May 14 by a Court of Appeals bench headed by Judge Harold Medina of motions the effect of which would be to free Sobell or grant him a new trial. The defense had charged the use of perjuries and false representations by the prosecution in the original trial before Judge Irving R. Kaufman.

Kaufman denied the motions last June. He said the contentions of the appeal had already been dealt with on a motion to arrest judgment argued immediately after the Rosenberg-Sobell trial in 1951. Since the 1951 proceeding the Sobell defense has uncovered a wealth of material proving the assertions made at that time—that Sobell had been illegally seized in Mexico and delivered to U.S. authorities at Laredo, Tex., where his papers were incorrectly stamped "Deported" by an immigration official. The prosecution used these papers and testimony of the immigration official at the trial to convince the jury that Sobell had been legally deported by the government of Mexico. The defense contended that the prosecution had used this evidence knowing it to be false; and in a separate motion argued that Sobell was entitled to his freedom because he had been abducted by the Dept. of Justice in violation of the extradition treaty between Mexico and the U.S.

EVIDENCE BRUSHED OFF: These points were argued Mar. 5 before Medina and Judges Galston and Waterman by attorneys Marshall Perlin of New York and Dr. Louis Sanchez Ponton of Mexico.

The Medina decision brushed aside the new evidence and affirmed Kaufman's judgment that the contentions had been disposed of in the 1951 proceeding. In disposing of the contention that the extradition treaty had been violated, Medina ruled that the treaty with Mexico does not prohibit ". . . abduction by one party of criminals found in the territory of the other."

Later the opinion says on the same point:

". . . it can hardly be maintained, still assuming the truth of the appellant's charges, that the unlawful and unauthorized acts of the Mexican police acting in behalf of subordinate agents of the executive branch of the United States government were . . . acts of the United States."

NEVER BEFORE COURT: The Supreme Court has twice before refused to review Sobell's conviction when it was appealed with the Rosenberg case in 1952-53. The legal points in the current motions have not been before the Supreme Court before.

Meanwhile world-famous cellist Pablo Casals has joined the list of prominent individuals appealing to President Eisenhower for freedom or a new trial for Sobell. The appeal was originated by commentator Elmer Davis, atom scientist Harold Urey and others last year. Notables joining earlier this year included the Protestant chaplain of Alcatraz, former Gov. Olson of California, and leading churchmen, writers and educators. More than 200 persons have signed the appeal, including most recently editor I. F. Stone, author Harvey O'Connor and Profs. Robert Reid Newell and Sumner M. Kalman of Stanford Univ. medical school.

FIGHT GOES ON: Mrs. Helen Sobell called Medina's decision "an immoral and illegal one" and announced that it would be appealed to the Supreme Court.

"We do not pretend that this denial of due process is easy for us to endure," she said. "However, seven years of imprisonment have not crushed Morton's will to live or his belief in his vindication, nor will this.

"We can and must have the justice to which we are entitled; we will continue to fight for it with the continued support of those old and new friends who know what this case means to America."

Gomorrah-on-the-Hudson

Last week to the sin-ridden metropolis of New York came Rev. Dr. Billy Graham to awaken a city "crying for cleansing of this evil." For 45 nights he will be carrying on his cleansing operation at Madison Sq. Garden (with a couple of interruptions for unclean wrestling matches). Working in the slick Madison Avenue manner, he has 4,000 counsellors, a chorus of 1,500 and 2,000 ushers, assuring himself of an audience of at least 7,500 nightly. His budget is $1,300,000. His take has not been estimated. Asked by a reporter why he was chosen by God to do His work, Billy replied modestly: "When I get to Heaven, that's the first question I'm going to ask Him." Above, Billy is shown with his wife in Pennsylvania Station.

CALIFORNIA BATTLE

Assembly amends loyalty repealer with new oath

By Reuben W. Borough

LOS ANGELES

THE CALIFORNIA Supreme Court's 4-3 decision upholding the loyalty oath requirement for tax exemption for churches brought prompt reaction from the major litigants.

Stockett in Baltimore Afro-American

"Go away, boy, I don't want to bother you."

- The San Leandro Methodist church announced it would appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.
- The First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, on whose separate presentation the state court had passed, said through its board of trustees that "in the light of the narrowly balanced and crucial division impairing . . . basic liberties" it would, first, petition the court to reconsider its "divided action" and, failing here, would go to the U.S. Supreme Court for "decision under the free speech, thought, and religion guarantees" of the U.S. Constitution.

Since the court struggle is of nationwide consequence, the Los Angeles Unitarians planned an appeal for help outside their own church to meet the heavy financial and organizational burdens.

While in the court fight the explorations of attorney William B. Murrish, of counsel for the First Unitarian Church, commanded major attention, the dominant force before the legislature was the So. California Council of Protestant Churches (1,000,000 members).

The conflict there centered in Assembly Bill 2214, a proposed repealer of the loyalty oath requirement for tax exemption for churches, non-profit organizations and veterans.

On May 13 the Assembly passed Bill 2214, by a vote of 45-21, but with an amendment which repeal proponents regard as vicious. In place of the old loyalty oath (disclaiming advocacy of the overthrow of the government by force and violence), the bill now requires an oath of support to the U. S. Constitution and the state of California and a pledge to uphold the government against "foreign and domestic enemies."

GRADY HAS A TB OPERATION

Jenkins defense says Louisiana lacks right to try couple for 'subversion'

WHILE GRADY JENKINS was in Dibert Tuberculosis Hospital in New Orleans last week recovering from the removal of part of a lung, his lawyers were contesting the right of Louisiana to try him and his wife under the state's "anti-subversive" law. The Supreme Court's action in the Steve Nelson case in Pennsylvania was generally assumed to have nullified such laws as Louisiana has invoked against Jenkins.

No trial date has been set pending disposal of a defense motion challenging the jurisdiction of the state court. The motion can be appealed to higher courts should the lower court rule against it.

The arrests grew out of the Jenkinses standing on their Constitutional right to refuse to answer questions dealing with their beliefs or associations before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee last year. For two weeks after his arrest in April Grady Jenkins was shackled to a hospital bed. Bail was originally set at $15,000 for each. Since then the bail has been cut by half and both are out on bond raised by friends.

BIG RED SCARE: The press, tying the Jenkins case to the fight on jimcrow, has kept up a running fire. The New Orleans **States** (5/14) ran this banner headline across page one: "City, State, U.S. Team Up, MAP DRIVE ON LA. REDS." The story quoted state Atty Gen. Jack P. F. Gremillion: "I'm not waving the flag when I say the Communist Party is largely responsible for a lot of our racial unrest and our major labor disputes."

The Jenkinses have two children, the oldest a little over two. Their father's year-long bout with tuberculosis has drained the family of all resources to fight the case. The Committee to Defend Grady and Judy Jenkins has asked that all defense contributions be sent to the treasurer, Jack Shulman, 860 Riverside Dr., New York 32, N.Y.

Released

A GENTLE, soft-spoken scholar signed a pauper's oath for a $6,000 fine he could not pay and was set free Friday, May 17, after 2½ years in jail under the "conspiracy" provisions of the Smith Act. He was V. J. Jerome, author of **A Lantern for Jeremy** and a cultural leader of the U. S. Communist Party. During the week that followed, five other CPUSA leaders convicted at the second Foley Square trial in New York in 1953 were also scheduled to be released. They were Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Alexander Bittelman, Pettis Perry, Arnold Johnson and Louis Weinstock.

After his Smith Act term ended, Jerome served 30 days further in the N.Y. Federal House of Detention in lieu of the $6,000 fine levied against him. The pauper's oath was required to assure the government that he was properly-less.

ARTHUR MILLER ON THE CONDITIONS OF FREEDOM

A call to writers to speak out

In New York on May 7, playwright Arthur Miller, whose trial on charges of contempt was held in Washington last week, spoke before the National Assembly of the Author's League of America at a panel on "The Writer's Position in America." The Assembly adopted a declaration on "Freedom to Write" which noted "with increasing concern, in the decade since the Second World War, a drift in our own national life toward censorship." The declaration "denies the right of any individual or group in the U.S. to set limits on the freedom to write, which includes the freedom of publication, distribution and performance of writing." The text of Miller's talk appears below.

IN SIX MINUTES one can't hope to do more than make an assertion or two about so complex a thing as the writer's position in any society, let alone in America. One relationship, however, can at least be profitably touched on, even if a just balance cannot be struck in so short a time. It is the question of the integration of the writer into the domestic and foreign policies of the nation at any particular moment.

Through most of history the relationship between the artist and political power has been, how shall I say, uneasy. Our profession has had a higher percentage of exiles, jailbirds, and public offenders than any other. This is probably due to the conflict between the artist's personal search for life's meaning, and the politician's insistence that his policy and his power embody all the wisdom any honest patriot requires. It is possible to pity both politician and artist, but it seems evident that the welfare of the race must insist upon those conditions of freedom which will make the competition for truth at all possible.

I believe that we are in a period when, in a rather submerged and stuttering way, power is striving, sometimes consciously, oftentimes in ignorance of what is at stake—striving to preempt the field entirely for itself. The most recent and blatant example can be found in last week's exchange of letters between Mr. Sulzberger who publishes the **N.Y. Times**, and Mr. Dulles. The immediate issue revolved around newspaper writers, but in 1957 it seems no longer possible to imagine that its weight does not fall equally upon novelists, playwrights, and poets.

Mr. Sulzberger wrote to protest the State Department's refusal to allow American newsmen to go to China to report the news and its threats of reprisals for any who dared disobey. He wrote, "As things now stand, I cannot escape the feeling that the Administration is abridging the freedom of the press and using the press as an instrument in its diplomacy." Mr. Dulles replied in part, "When young men are drafted and sent abroad, they are used as instruments of foreign policy. When business people are not allowed to trade with Communist China, they might equally argue that they are being used as instruments of our diplomacy.

"Foreign policy and diplomacy cannot succeed unless, in fact, it channels the activities of our people, and in this respect newspapermen have also their loyalty and patriotic duty."

I DO NOT KNOW how many of you share my view of history in this respect, but I believe that this statement of Mr. Dulles is a new thing among us and represents a way of thought which, to phrase it charitably, departs from our practice and traditions. I am not saying that you can't agree with this "channeling," but, if you do, it seems to me you have to recognize that it entails certain drastic concessions of traditional liberties. My point here is less Mr. Dulles than the accuracy with which his statement reflects a misconception, widely held in and out of government, concerning all writings and all writers, science and scientific thought as well. The basic assumption here is what Mr. Dulles says it is, that "foreign policy cannot succeed unless, in fact, it channels the activities of the people . . ."

I don't think it unfair or inaccurate to say that this is what has been called "Total Diplomacy." If it means anything, it means that every resource of a nation is organized into the effort to achieve a diplomatic end, and not the least of the resources required is the thought, the ideas, the information of the people and their projection of what should be in the world. I think it must be said for Mr. Dulles that American administrations in the past have done their best to confute internal opposition to their policies; that Franklin Roosevelt, for one, campaigned against individual members of the House and Senate to eradicate or reduce their influence against his policies. But excepting during the Civil War and in the time of the Alien and Sedition Acts, the very punitive power of government itself has not been used to limit the liberties of citizens, or to equate political opposition with disloyalty, in order to cut off its potential opponents.

N.Y. Herald Tribune

"You have our okay to go to the moon and Mars! Why do you keep harping on Red China?"

I cite this exchange of letters only because it puts the dilemma so clearly.

I CAN SAY from my experience that plays and playwrights are also considered as bearing upon high policy, and are justified as being forbidden to go abroad, while within the country other arms of government are used to organize them out of circulation. The State Department has interfered with the circulation of American books abroad, American music and musicians, and American painting. It is no news that it is now impossible for American scientists to act as hosts to international scientific congresses within the United States because so many foreign scientists will not be admitted here. I believe that once we assent to the idea that high policy alone is sacred, and that every other value can easily be sacrificed to it, we shall have abdicated our independence as writers and citizens. I believe we have by silence given this consent, and by silence helped to raise the state to a kind of power over all of us which it cannot have without crippling the soul of art and people themselves.

I wonder if it is not time for some expert testimony on this problem. I wonder if it is not time for writers, who know best the delights of freedom because they use freedom every day, to make it clear to government and the people that there is in fact a very important difference between businessmen and soldiers on the one hand, and writers and artists on the other, even if the actions of all do bear upon foreign or even domestic policy. The government is proceeding on a very hollow syllogism. All mice have four feet; all lions have four feet—therefore a mouse is a lion. The virtue of syllogism is that while it may bring out similarities, it totally obscures differences that in real life separate one thing from another. It is not the part of writers to concede, let alone to pretend, that they are the same as businessmen and soldiers. And this, simply because the salvation of the nation and the race do not and cannot depend upon steel ingots and shoes and jet planes in the same way as they do upon the free expression of opinion, of viewpoints, and of the saving awareness and wisdom that not infrequently springs from the written word and cannot spring from iron or armies. The mission of the written word is not to buttress high policy but to proclaim the truth, the truth for whose lack we must surely die; it is a mission not lightly to be cast aside for temporary advantage.

IT IS NOW COMMON among us, if not downright fashionable, to inveigh against the trends of conformity, the emergence among us of the "organization man," the "lonely crowd," the—in short—"channeled" personality. The writer knows that for him to be organized-in, so to speak, is to lose his very field of action, his reason for existence as a writer.

Hollywood Citizen-News

New look

Is it not time to state that high policy is not the only value worth serving, just as we do not believe—at least I hope we do not—that efficiency and progress may rightfully consume whatever in the human being does not fit into efficient and progressive patterns? Is it not time to state that the news is still sacred, too, that the freedom to write, to create unmolested and unblackguarded by government is at least equal to the sanctity of high policy. For God's sake let us at least cling with one finger, if we cannot grasp it in our hands, to the most secure proposition mankind has ever proved in its bloody time on this earth—that an artist and his vision need not be any more mistaken than even a politician's.

It is not a question even of our rights. It is not a question of complaining. It is not even a question of trying to uphold the dignity of America before the world, even though, believe me, it has been gravely sullied by this brand of "realism." It is purely and simply a question of preserving the conditions of a free press and a free literature.

The people do not understand those conditions, not because they care little for things of the spirit, but because we who are experts, or should be, have not made clear what those conditions are, nor how they differ from conditions required if business is to flourish, or soldiering. What freedom we are using now we have not helped to make, and what is being eroded around us we are making no effort to protect. And I say these things because I have learned them at my cost, and because I wish none of you will have to learn them the same way.

Miller trial

(Continued from Page 1)

in Washington before Federal District Judge Charles F. McLaughlin, sitting without a jury, on May 14. Sole issue to be decided was whether the questions Miller refused to answer were pertinent to the committee's announced investigation of fraudulent possession and misuse of passports. The playwright was never accused of violating passport regulations.

Asst. U.S. Atty. William Hitz argued that the questions were pertinent to legislation introduced in the 84th Congress and pending in the present session.

At his appearance before the committee on June 21, 1956, Miller testified freely about his past associations and admitted that in 1947 he attended five or six meetings of a discussion group of communist writers, but that he himself had never been a member or under communist discipline. He answered some 200 questions about himself, balked only at these two:

- "Can you tell us who was there when you walked into the room?"
- "Was Arnaud D'Usseau chairman of this meeting of Communist Party writers which took place in 1947 at which you were in attendance?"

Miller told the committee that "my conscience will not permit me to use the name of another person and bring trouble to him."

PIPELINE TO UN-AMS: Committee director Richard Arens was the sole government witness at the trial. He testified, over repeated objections by defense counsel Joseph L. Rauh Jr., that the committee had evidence of Miller's connection with communist causes and even of one-time membership in the party.

Prosecutor Hitz declared that Miller "has never denied past membership in so many words," but Rauh replied that "Mr. Miller did deny under oath that he had ever been a member of the Communist Party, and Mr. Hitz knows it." Later Rauh placed in the record an affidavit by Miller to the State Dept. denying he had ever been under communist discipline.

During the trial it became obvious that the passport office of the State Dept. serves as a pipeline for tips to the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Arens testified that the committee learned that Miller had filed a non-communist affidavit with the State Dept. a few days before he was subpenaed. Passport applications and information accompanying them are regarded as confidential.

IRRELEVANT: N.Y. Post reporter William V. Shannon quoted Miller as telling friends: "I would have to assume that the passport office was working behind the scenes with the House Committee." Another newspaper reported that Arens "heatedly denied it is 'customary' for the State Dept. to supply tips for the group's communist investigations." But Shannon interviewed Ashley Nicholas, general counsel of the Passport Divn., who told him: "We have been under instructions for many years to cooperate with committees of Congress. Their representatives are checking with us on passport matters all the time . . . We furnish routine information all the time to committees of Congress."

Miller was cited for contempt by the House of the 84th Congress on July 25, 1956, two days before it went out of existence. The vote was 373 to 9. Seven others were cited at the same time: Dr. Otto Nathan, executor of the estate of Albert Einstein; folk-singer Pete Seeger; actors Elliott Sullivan and George Tyne, and three residents of St. Louis who balked at committee questioning during a hearing in that city. Dr. Nathan has since been convicted; Seeger, Elliott and Tyne were recently indicted.

Miller stated at the time of his indictment: "I answered fully all questions regarding myself and asked only that I not be forced to name other people whom I believe to be innocent of wrongdoing. I was advised by counsel that the questions regarding the identity of the authors were not relevant to an investigation of passport abuses which was the subject matter of the investigation. I was further advised that a refusal to answer irrelevant questions is not punishable."

'Give us the ballot and we'll fill our legisl

These photographs were taken especially for the Guardian by NORMA HOLT

THE BIGGEST NEGRO POLITICAL RALLY EVER IN THE CAPITAL

27,000 march in the Freedom Pilgrimage to Washington

By Eugene Gordon
Guardian staff correspondent

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE TWO Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom trains to Washington were due to leave New York's Pennsylvania Station at 7:30 a.m. By 6:45, delegations from Local 6, Hotel and Club Employes Union, AFL-CIO, with placards reading "Back Up Your Prayers With Action for Civil Rights" and "Let's Work and Pray for Freedom", were crowded, chatting and laughing, near Gates 9 and 10. With them were groups bearing signs identifying Friendship Baptist Church, Trinity Methodist Church, and Morning Dew Industrial Church.

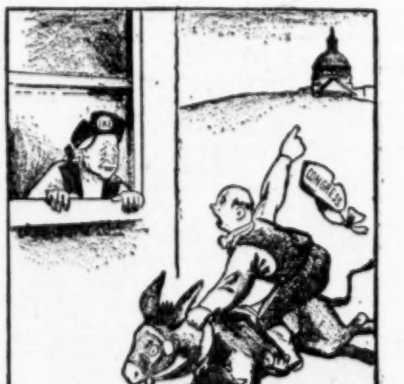
Unaffiliated pilgrims carried light handbags or lunchboxes. News cameramen made use of the brilliant sun highlighting the scene through windows and roof. A magnified voice boomed the track numbers; Red Caps directed anxious late-comers to windows 50 and 51 for cut-rate Pilgrimage tickets.

A HOLIDAY MOOD: The feeling of holiday expectancy in the train of 16 cars on Track 9, jammed with church and miscellaneous groups and what a young woman called "the celebrities," was probably no more intense than in the train of 14 cars on Track 10, packed with trade unionists. I was aboard the train on track 9, which went first. There was a generous mixture of Puerto Ricans among the non-white pilgrims. Some white and colored school girls—Negro and Puerto Rican—were clustered in two seats facing each other near the center of the car. Their giggling efforts to sing spirituals had finally brought forth "Down By the River Side" when we slowed down to pass through the North Philadelphia station.

A Negro man whose tenor inclined more to middle-aged lustiness than to melody joined in "Don't You Weep, Don't You Moan!" and "I Want to Walk in Jerusalem Just Like John." Now, as we neared Baltimore, most of us were singing and young women moved through the swaying car calling: "Freedom Badges! Make sure, everybody, you get your Freedom Badge!" Each badge had a red, white and blue ribbon.

A CROWDED AISLE: John Killens, author of **Youngblood**, came through, returning to his car at the rear. Joining him, I discovered, as scores already had, Ruby Dee, Sidney Poitier, Harry and Mrs. Belafonte and Sammy Davis Jr. The impassable aisle adjoining their seats testified to their failure to pass for ordinary pilgrims.

We reached Washington's Union Station at about 11 a.m. A column of chartered buses waited at one end. The meeting at the Lincoln Memorial was scheduled to begin at 12 and to end at 3. The first return train would leave at 6. A man wondered aloud how we were supposed to spend the three hours after the meeting. "Go visit your congressman," somebody advised. In a spirited give-and-take over prayer meetting versus action meeting—the brother from District 65 said: "Man, are you crazy? I didn't come all this distance just to pray. If that was all there was to it, I could do that up there in New York."



Stockett in Baltimore Afro-American
"Help! the marchers are coming!"

I asked a Negro station attendant what he thought of the Pilgrimage. He said, after a moment's smiling hesitation: "You can't succeed at anything unless you work at it. Even if you don't do nothing but ride that string of buses down Constitution Av., and congregate in front of Lincoln's statue, you **done** something!"

A CHANGE IN MOOD: Some of us in the bus thought at first that Constitution Av. was flag-bedecked for us. The driver clarified: "Tomorrow's Armed Forces Day." But passersby, I noticed, acted differently from the way they did when I went on such delegations years ago. I used to wince, then burn with anger, at the sneers and the open laughter. I mentioned it to my seatmate. He said:

"You know why, don't you? Since those days we've had the Supreme Court decision on the public schools. These people know that. We've had the Interstate Commerce Commission decision against segregated bus travel, and they know that, too. They haven't forgotten what the Negroes did in Montgomery. But the one thing they know better than anything else is that 10, eight, even five, years ago, we didn't dare stick our heads in a Washington restaurant or movie house, but that today, because we fought and won, we **do** have that right. **That's** why they don't sneer or laugh."

THE MEETING: Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters president A. Philip Randolph's sonorous phrases were being drowned in the roar of a passing plane when we reached the crowded space before the Lincoln Memorial. The N. Y. **Times** reported that Randolph was "applauded when in opening remarks he warned against the acceptance of communist help." I heard greater applause when he boomed a warning to white supremacists to "keep your evil hands off the NAACP."

Chairman Randolph asked that show of feeling be expressed with "Amen!" or the waving of handkerchiefs, "because this is a religious, not a political, demonstration." Then he would say, for instance: "Not only must you register and vote but you must be a missionary to your neighbors and get them to do likewise"—and the audience forgot the silent handkerchiefs.

A MIGHTY FORTRESS: However, the prayer-meeting aspects were repeatedly emphasized. The chorus sang "A Mighty Fortress Is Our Lord" after Randolph's plea. Senior AMEZ Bishop William J. Walls and CME Bishop William Y. Bell read from the Scriptures. Rev. Ross A. Weston of the Arlington, Va., Unitarian Church prayed.

Natl. Assn. of Colored Women president Mrs. Irene McCoy Gaines said "prayer is sterile" unless accompanied by deeds, and Natl. Council of Negro Women president Mrs. William T. Mason declared "this is the hour of decision." Then Howard U. president Mordecai W. Johnson shouted—to echoing

41 from N.O.

Special to the GUARDIAN

NEW ORLEANS

HISTORY leaped forward with the big Greyhound bus on May 16 when 41 delegates left on the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom in Washington, May 18. After anxious hours of passing through such Mississippi towns as Hattiesburg, Laurel and Meridian, the pilgrims were inspired as they came near Montgomery, the South's beacon light for freedom. A few had given up the pilgrimage under newspaper attacks by the **Times-Picayune's** "retired Negro clergyman," Rev. Scott Chinn. Rumors followed that it had been called off. But the pilgrimage and history rolled on.

islative halls with men of good will . . . '

shouts of agreement—"May our hand lose its cunning and the tongue cleave to the roof of the mouth if we ever give up this fight!", and the chorus and the audience sang a hymn.

People sat and stood on the broad stone steps packed together before and on both sides of the Memorial space down to the reflecting pool. They seemed constantly expectant of something dramatic or meaningful. Eyes followed the TV and movie cameras and the thundering planes directly overhead. The airfield lies close by.

IT WAS A WORK DAY: The NAACP gave the crowd total as 27,000, with white pilgrims numbering in the hundreds.

I asked a member of the Furriers Union why he thought the crowd had not reached the expected 50,000. Well, for one thing, the date originally set was Saturday, a day off. It had been changed to Friday, so delegations might visit their congressmen, and because May 17 was the exact anniversary of the Supreme Court decision. Non-union workers couldn't take a day off without risking their jobs. He noted such opposition to the Pilgrimage as Rev. W. Scott Chinn's, quoted in the New Orleans **Times-Picayune** (5/12): "Nothing will be gained. It will be wasted energy, time and money and possibly loss of much self-respect." Others felt that similar expressions by Pittsburgh **Courier** columnist George Schuyler may have influenced many.

THE REAL SOUTH: The antidote for the defeatism, however, was provided by minister-leaders of the struggle in the Deep South: William H. Borders, arrested for riding in the front seat of an Atlanta bus; C. K. Steele, threatened with death for heading Tallahassee's anti-jimcrow bus movement; F. L. Shuttlesworth, whose home was bombed and family injured because he led a similar movement in Birmingham; A. L. Davis, for carrying on in New Orleans.

Rev. Borders said Georgia "has not educated a single Negro doctor in 185 years." Rev. Steele pledged that Florida Negroes would qualify and run for political office. "All America's children must be fed from the same loaf," Rev. Shuttlesworth declared, and asked: "Can America forever give bread of charity to Hungarian strangers while tossing a bone of contempt to her Negro children?" Let the rest of America wake up to the fact that Negroes are not fighting only for Negroes, he said: "What's good for Negroes is good for all Americans; what's good for the rest of America is good for the Negroes."

REV. KING SPEAKS: Rev. Davis, describing KKK and White Citizens Council jubilation because, in some states, they "got the old hen"—the NAACP—at last, said: "Yes, but before you got her she laid some eggs. Those eggs are hatching now." The audience roared with laughter.

Negro Rep. Charles Diggs (D-Mich.) said he believed in "the psychological power of prayer" but "you may as well have stayed at home if all you intend to do is pray and shout." The audience acclaimed his plain talk—then went wild when Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. was introduced.

He said "our most urgent request" to the President and Congress is that the Negro be given his constitutional right to vote. "Give us the ballot," he declared, "and we'll fill our legislative halls with men of good will to replace the Eastlands. Give us the ballot—that's the way to fight the menace of communism. Give us the ballot, and we'll place judges on the benches in the South who will uphold the rights of all Southerners . . ."

He paused for the shouts, then went on: "We talk a great deal about our rights—and justly so. We hear a great deal about the fact that we, the colored peoples, are a majority in the world; but we must not use our emerging power to victimize the white minority as the white man has so long victimized us . . . We must not remain satisfied with our court victory over our white brothers, but must so act as to bring about understanding between us . . ."

POLITE DIXIE COPS: Waiting at the gate in the Union Station for the return train, I stood beside a Harlem acquaintance. The Pilgrimage to him was "the greatest demonstration" Negroes in this country ever had. Why? "Well, when King said, in spite of all we've suffered, we don't intend to take it out on the white people, that was statesmanship." The people who run our government "haven't taken Negroes seriously, because we were not organized; but in Washington today you knew that even the cops, who were talking among themselves and making out they weren't listening—even they were impressed." He had never seen "so many Dixie cops so polite." He reflected a moment and said:

"And when King said 'Give us the vote'—you know what he was doing? He was turning a do-nothing prayer meeting into the biggest political rally Negroes ever held in Washington. Yes, sir!"

IS GHANA "THE CRUMBS"?

Negro press shocked by Ike's choice of ambassador for new African state

ETHEL L. PAYNE is the Chicago **Defender**'s Washington correspondent when she is not covering events like the Korean War, the Bandung Conference and the birth of the state of Ghana. Recently she wrote about State Dept. careerists' taking "advantage of one long-established fallacy: . . . lack of qualified and trained Negro personnel" in U.S. foreign service. She urged action on a recommendation—already approved by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee —for a Bureau of African Affairs, staffed with citizens of African descent.

To point up present inadequacies, Miss Payne described an incident at a reception for Vice President Nixon by the U.S. Embassy in Rome when he and his party were returning from Africa:

"The wife of the Minister Counselor of the Embassy walked up to a group of American Negroes with a cocktail glass in her hand and announced that her husband was the Ambassador-Designate to Ghana. Even before this bit of . . . choice information could be digested, the lady let her disgust be known when she complained that although her husband, a Southerner, had more than 27 years of service, 'the best they can offer us is the crumbs, and we have to take it.'

"Although she later denied that she was casting any aspersions on the country, her careless and indiscreet baring of her attitude points up the serious defects in the system that allows totally disinterested persons to have a monopoly on assignments where genuine interest and sympathy for the people ought to be the primary consideration."

"AN INSULT": The Associated Negro Press has now reported that "President Eisenhower sent to the Senate the nomination of Wilson Clark Flake to be the U.S. Ambassador to Ghana." Flake, Virginia-born, has been in foreign service since 1929. In 1945 he was appointed counselor at Pretoria, S. Africa, where he served until transferred in 1955 as Counselor of Embassy and Consul General at the American Embassy in Rome. It was there—as reported by Miss Payne—that Mrs. Flake complained of the Ghana "crumbs."

The Pittsburgh **Courier** deplored the "ineptitude which has led to this appointment"; not because Flake is white or a Southerner or a careerist or "will leave S. Africa (where segregation has the benefit of legal sanction) and go to Ghana, an African nation of free black people." The **Courier** said it deplored it because it was "stupid and dumb . . . an insult to the people of Ghana . . . and a backhand slap at Americans of African descent." It wondered how Secy. of State Dulles could "be so insensitive to what is happening in Africa today."

'Give us the ballot and we'll fill our legisl

These photographs were taken especially for the Guardian by NORMA HOLT

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THE TWO Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom trains to Washington were due to leave New York's Pennsylvania Station at 7:30 a.m. By 6:45, delegations from Local 6, Hotel and Club Employes Union, AFL-CIO, with placards reading "Back Up Your Prayers With Action for Civil Rights" and "Let's Work and Pray for Freedom", were crowded, chatting and laughing, near Gates 9 and 10. With them were groups bearing signs identifying Friendship Baptist Church, Trinity Methodist Church, and Morning Dew Industrial Church.

Unaffiliated pilgrims carried light handbags or lunchboxes. News cameramen made use of the brilliant sun highlighting the scene through windows and roof. A magnified voice boomed the track numbers; Red Caps directed anxious late-comers to windows 50 and 51 for cut-rate Pilgrimage tickets.

A HOLIDAY MOOD: The feeling of holiday expectancy in the train of 16 cars on Track 9, jammed with church and miscellaneous groups and what a young woman called "the celebrities," was probably no more intense than in the train of 14 cars on Track 10, packed with trade unionists. I was aboard the train on track 9, which went first. There was a generous mixture of Puerto Ricans among the non-white pilgrims. Some white and colored school girls—Negro and Puerto Rican—were clustered in two seats facing each other near the center of the car. Their giggling efforts to sing spirituals had finally brought forth "Down By the River Side" when we slowed down to pass through the North Philadelphia station.

A Negro man whose tenor inclined more to middle-aged lustiness than to melody joined in "Don't You Weep, Don't You Moan!" and "I Want to Walk in Jerusalem Just Like John." Now, as we neared Baltimore, most of us were singing and young women moved through the swaying car calling: "Freedom Badges! Make sure, everybody, you get your Freedom Badge!" Each badge had a red, white and blue ribbon.

A CROWDED AISLE: John Killens, author of **Youngblood**, came through, returning to his car at the rear. Joining him, I discovered, as scores already had, Ruby Dee, Sidney Poitier, Harry and Mrs. Belafonte and Sammy Davis Jr. The impassable aisle adjoining their seats testified to their failure to pass for ordinary pilgrims.

We reached Washington's Union Station at about 11 a.m. A column of chartered buses waited at one end. The meeting at the Lincoln Memorial was scheduled to begin at 12 and to end at 3. The first return train would leave at 6. A man wondered aloud how we were supposed to spend the three hours after the meeting. "Go visit your congressman," somebody advised. In a spirited give-and-take over prayer meeting versus action meeting—the brother from District 65 said: "Man, are you crazy? I didn't come all this distance just to pray. If that was all there was to it, I could do that up there in New York."

Stockett in Baltimore Afro-American
"Help! the marchers are coming!"

I asked a Negro station attendant what he thought of the Pilgrimage. He said, after a moment's smiling hesitation: "You can't succeed at anything unless you work at it. Even if you don't do nothing but ride that string of buses down Constitution Av., and congregate in front of Lincoln's statue, you **done** something!"

A CHANGE IN MOOD: Some of us in the bus thought at first that Constitution Av. was flag-bedecked for us. The driver clarified: "Tomorrow's Armed Forces Day." But passersby, I noticed, acted differently from the way they did when I went on such delegations years ago. I used to wince, then burn with anger, at the sneers and the open laughter. I mentioned it to my seatmate. He said:

"You know why, don't you? Since those days we've had the Supreme Court decision on the public schools. These people know that. We've had the Interstate Commerce Commission decision against segregated bus travel, and they know that, too. They haven't forgotten what the Negroes did in Montgomery. But the one thing they know better than anything else is that 10, eight, even five, years ago, we didn't dare stick our heads in a Washington restaurant or movie house, but that today, because we fought and won, we **do** have that right. **That's** why they don't sneer or laugh."

THE MEETING: Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters president A. Philip Randolph's sonorous phrases were being drowned in the roar of a passing plane when we reached the crowded space before the Lincoln Memorial. The N. Y. **Times** reported that Randolph was "applauded when in opening remarks he warned against the acceptance of communist help." I heard greater applause when he boomed a warning to white supremacists to "keep your evil hands off the NAACP."

Chairman Randolph asked that show of feeling be expressed with "Amen!" or the waving of handkerchiefs, "because this is a religious, not a political, demonstration." Then he would say, for instance: "Not only must you register and vote but you must be a missionary to your neighbors and get them to do likewise"—and the audience forgot the silent handkerchiefs.

A MIGHTY FORTRESS: However, the prayer-meeting aspects were repeatedly emphasized. The chorus sang "A Mighty Fortress Is Our Lord" after Randolph's plea. Senior AMEZ Bishop William J. Walls and CME Bishop William Y. Bell read from the Scriptures. Rev. Ross A. Weston of the Arlington, Va., Unitarian Church prayed.

Natl. Assn. of Colored Women president Mrs. Irene McCoy Gaines said "prayer is sterile" unless accompanied by deeds, and Natl. Council of Negro Women president Mrs. William T. Mason declared "this is the hour of decision." Then Howard U. president Mordecai W. Johnson shouted—to echoing

41 from N.O.

Special to the GUARDIAN

NEW ORLEANS

HISTORY leaped forward with the big Greyhound bus on May 16 when 41 delegates left on the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom in Washington, May 18. After anxious hours of passing through such Mississippi towns as Hattiesburg, Laurel and Meridian, the pilgrims were inspired as they came near Montgomery, the South's beacon light for freedom. A few had given up the pilgrimage under newspaper attacks by the **Times-Picayune's** "retired Negro clergyman," Rev. Scott Chinn. Rumors followed that it had been called off. But the pilgrimage and history rolled on.

gislative halls with men of good will . . .'

shouts of agreement—"May our hand lose its cunning and the tongue cleave to the roof of the mouth if we ever give up this fight!", and the chorus and the audience sang a hymn.

People sat and stood on the broad stone steps packed together before and on both sides of the Memorial space down to the reflecting pool. They seemed constantly expectant of something dramatic or meaningful. Eyes followed the TV and movie cameras and the thundering planes directly overhead. The airfield lies close by.

IT WAS A WORK DAY: The NAACP gave the crowd total as 27,000, with white pilgrims numbering in the hundreds.

I asked a member of the Furriers Union why he thought the crowd had not reached the expected 50,000. Well, for one thing, the date originally set was Saturday, a day off. It had been changed to Friday, so delegations might visit their congressmen, and because May 17 was the exact anniversary of the Supreme Court decision. Non-union workers couldn't take a day off without risking their jobs. He noted such opposition to the Pilgrimage as Rev. W. Scott Chinn's, quoted in the New Orleans **Times-Picayune** (5/12): "Nothing will be gained. It will be wasted energy, time and money and possibly loss of much self-respect." Others felt that similar expressions by Pittsburgh **Courier** columnist George Schuyler may have influenced many.

THE REAL SOUTH: The antidote for the defeatism, however, was provided by minister-leaders of the struggle in the Deep South: William H. Borders, arrested for riding in the front seat of an Atlanta bus; C. K. Steele, threatened with death for heading Tallahassee's anti-jimcrow bus movement; F. L. Shuttlesworth, whose home was bombed and family injured because he led a similar movement in Birmingham; A. L. Davis, for carrying on in New Orleans.

Rev. Borders said Georgia "has not educated a single Negro doctor in 185 years." Rev. Steele pledged that Florida Negroes would qualify and run for political office. "All America's children must be fed from the same loaf," Rev. Shuttlesworth declared, and asked: "Can America forever give bread of charity to Hungarian strangers while tossing a bone of contempt to her Negro children?" Let the rest of America wake up to the fact that Negroes are not fighting only for Negroes, he said: "What's good for Negroes is good for all Americans; what's good for the rest of America is good for the Negroes."

REV. KING SPEAKS: Rev. Davis, describing KKK and White Citizens Council jubilation because, in some states, they "got the old hen"—the NAACP—at last, said: "Yes, but before you got her she laid some eggs. Those eggs are hatching now." The audience roared with laughter.

Negro Rep. Charles Diggs (D-Mich.) said he believed in "the psychological power of prayer" but "you may as well have stayed at home if all you intend to do is pray and shout." The audience acclaimed his plain talk—then went wild when Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. was introduced.

He said "our most urgent request" to the President and Congress is that the Negro be given his constitutional right to vote. "Give us the ballot," he declared, "and we'll fill our legislative halls with men of good will to replace the Eastlands. Give us the ballot—that's the way to fight the menace of communism. Give us the ballot, and we'll place judges on the benches in the South who will uphold the rights of all Southerners . . ."

He paused for the shouts, then went on: "We talk a great deal about our rights—and justly so. We hear a great deal about the fact that we, the colored peoples, are a majority in the world; but we must not use our emerging power to victimize the white minority as the white man has so long victimized us . . . We must not remain satisfied with our court victory over our white brothers, but must so act as to bring about understanding between us . . ."

POLITE DIXIE COPS: Waiting at the gate in the Union Station for the return train, I stood beside a Harlem acquaintance. The Pilgrimage to him was "the greatest demonstration" Negroes in this country ever had. Why? "Well, when King said, in spite of all we've suffered, we don't intend to take it out on the white people, that was statesmanship." The people who run our government "haven't taken Negroes seriously, because we were not organized; but in Washington today you knew that even the cops, who were talking among themselves and making out they weren't listening—even they were impressed." He had never seen "so many Dixie cops so polite." He reflected a moment and said:

"And when King said 'Give us the vote'—you know what he was doing? He was turning a do-nothing prayer meeting into the biggest political rally Negroes ever held in Washington. Yes, sir!"

IS GHANA "THE CRUMBS"?

Negro press shocked by Ike's choice of ambassador for new African state

ETHEL L. PAYNE is the Chicago **Defender**'s Washington correspondent when she is not covering events like the Korean War, the Bandung Conference and the birth of the state of Ghana. Recently she wrote about State Dept. careerists' taking "advantage of one long-established fallacy: . . . lack of qualified and trained Negro personnel" in U.S. foreign service. She urged action on a recommendation—already approved by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee—for a Bureau of African Affairs, staffed with citizens of African descent.

To point up present inadequacies, Miss Payne described an incident at a reception for Vice President Nixon by the U.S. Embassy in Rome when he and his party were returning from Africa:

"The wife of the Minister Counselor of the Embassy walked up to a group of American Negroes with a cocktail glass in her hand and announced that her husband was the Ambassador-Designate to Ghana. Even before this bit of . . . choice information could be digested, the lady let her disgust be known when she complained that although her husband, a Southerner, had more than 27 years of service, 'the best they can offer us is the crumbs, and we have to take it.'

"Although she later denied that she was casting any aspersions on the country, her careless and indiscreet baring of her attitude points up the serious defects in the system that allows totally disinterested persons to have a monopoly on assignments where genuine interest and sympathy for the people ought to be the primary consideration."

"AN INSULT": The Associated Negro Press has now reported that "President Eisenhower sent to the Senate the nomination of Wilson Clark Flake to be the U.S. Ambassador to Ghana." Flake, Virginia-born, has been in foreign service since 1929. In 1945 he was appointed counselor at Pretoria, S. Africa, where he served until transferred in 1955 as Counselor of Embassy and Consul General at the American Embassy in Rome. It was there—as reported by Miss Payne—that Mrs. Flake complained of the Ghana "crumbs."

The Pittsburgh **Courier** deplored the "ineptitude which has led to this appointment"; not because Flake is white or a Southerner or a careerist or "will leave S. Africa (where segregation has the benefit of legal sanction) and go to Ghana, an African nation of free black people." The **Courier** said it deplored it because it was "stupid and dumb . . . an insult to the people of Ghana . . . and a backhand slap at Americans of African descent." It wondered how Secy. of State Dulles could "be so insensitive to what is happening in Africa today."

British Bomb

(Continued from Page 1)

dust has not yet reached the underground supplies. When it does we shall have another problem, for it is from this source that most of the growers draw their water . . . If radioactive vegetables or fruits are eaten in quantity the effect will be cumulative . . .

"Soon after the second rains fell in May we discovered that fields of vegetables in the area outside Osaka had been infected. These were tested for Beta rays and gave a count of 86,000 a minute; the normal count is 20 a minute . . ." More recently Japanese scientists have clocked the radioactivity in the rains that fell after Siberian blasts.

CANCER OF THE BONE: The effects would be a long time in showing up among the crops;. years from now they might mutate or turn sterile. The effects on the Japanese people would be longer in turning up—perhaps a generation or more before the damage could be tallied. Earlier British announcements indicated that at least some of the Christmas Island series of bombs would be in the megaton class—equivalent to 1,000,000 tons of TNT.

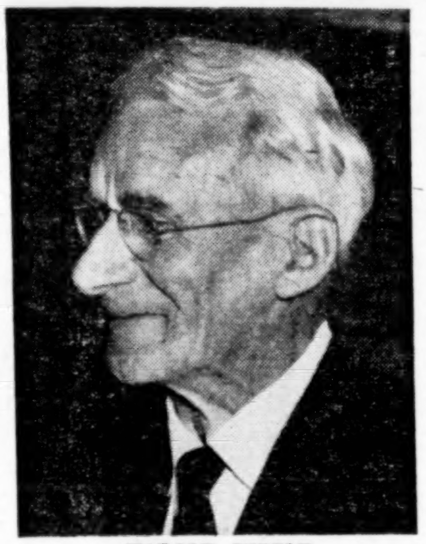
If the bomb that fell on May 15 was of one megaton strength—and some reports said it was two megatons—then, according to British scientists, that morning's work might produce cancer in 1,000 or more persons who now are healthy. Each megaton exploded produces fall-out which may condemn another 1,000 to cancer of the bone. What other—and possibly worse—effects there might be are still unknown. Geneticists are agreed that any radiation may be damaging to mankind. The bill for May 15 would be paid by later generations.

NOT PALATABLE: In demonstrations, prayer meetings and petitions Britons had led the Western world in the fight against the Christmas Island blast. Now that it had come off the big job of the government was to make it palatable at home. The conservative **Daily Mail** said the Bomb was a declaration of independence, that Britain could no longer be considered a "nuclear satellite" of the U. S. Facing a storm from Labourites in Commons, Prime Minister Macmillan said that now that Britain was in the same big-time league with the U. S. and

Cummings in London Daily Express
"Stupendous, Mr. Sandys! But if we only had something to deter Colonel Nasser!"

the U.S.S.R., it could press more effectively for disarmament and bomb-control. He said the local fall-out had been "negligible."

The death-dealing intermediate and long-range fall-out has worried scientists and humanists far more than the radioactivity on the bomb-site itself in the first shock of the blast. Much of the radioactive dust is lofted into the stratosphere and sifts slowly down on the world. There is no way to measure fully that menace and the talk of a "clean" bomb, unlike the "dirty" U.S. one at



HAROLD STEELE
He was ready to die alone

Bikini in 1954, seemed like soft-soap to angry Britons. It seemed true, though, that a bomb exploded at high attitude, (some said the Christmas Island blast occurred several miles up) would suck up less matter; consequently less radioactive ash would ultimately fall to earth.

Danger would still come with the rain; the world's atmosphere was more poisoned than it had been; and there were more bombs to come.

TOKYO DEMONSTRATES: In Colombo, Ceylon, Premier S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike was conferring with India's Prime Minister Nehru and the two were expected to issue a joint appeal to the nuclear powers to stop the tests. Similar pleas came from Yugoslavia and the Western German parliament. In Tokyo, crowds stormed onto the grounds of the British Embassy and refused to leave until forced off by police. Some 35,000 students left their classes in a protest strike. The Japanese government sent a message of "strong regret" to London, warning that there might be claims for compensation for Japanese injured by the Bomb in their person, their land or the fish on which they live. About 15 Japanese fishing schooners were reported in the danger zone when the Bomb went off. Japan has protested in vain to the British, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. on the tests.

The **Laging Una**, published by Filipinos in California, pointed out that the Philippines are nearer to the scene of the explosions than is Japan and that their homeland is threatened. Columnist Robert S. Allen in the N. Y. **Post** reported mounting opposition in Hawaii where radiation was reported 25 times normal after last summer's U. S. tests at Eniwetok. Hawaii's voteless delegate in Washington, John A. Burns, recalling that 300 Marshall Islanders were victims of the 1954 Bikini blast, complained of a brush-off in his demands that Britain assume responsibility for Hawaiians' losses. He told Allen:

"Indisputable facts regarding radiation and wind and climate conditions are sufficient to give rise to considerable alarm about possible danger. The U. S. government has responsibility to protect them from that."

U. S. BOMB TESTS: At Mercury, Nev., meanwhile James E. Reeves, test manager of the current U. S. bomb series, outlined the most extensive program of explosions in atomic history—more than 14 bomb blasts to go off in the desert throughout the summer. Reeves insisted that the new bombs were "cleaner" than ever, that there would be less fall-out. Some of the bombs in "Operation Plumbbob" would be exploded from balloons 2,000 feet up. But most will be launched from towers and at least one in an underground tunnel.

The tests were delayed for days by winds which the bomb launchers feared might spill radioactive ash on the observers. The U. S. had invited representatives of 47 countries but each had to be engaged in at least one of the approved military alliances, such as NATO or the Baghdad Pact. The qualification ruled out India and most of the Asian countries except Pakistan, Formosa, South Korea and Thailand.

Briefings stressed "safety" precautions, such as exploding the bomb from towers 200 feet higher than those used previously. Six shots will have less force than the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima; the others more. Nine shots will be witnessed by newsmen.

THEY DON'T KNOW: The worry over "safety" and the assurances of "clean" bombs stemmed from mounting fear throughout the American West that the tests were doing damage.

The on-the-spot survey published by the **Reporter** magazine May 16 stirred denials from Atomic Energy Commission scientists. Dr. Gordon Dunning at the bomb-site told reporters the worst "hot-spots" of radiation found in the U. S. amounted to less than the radioactivity encountered in a fluoroscopic stomach examination. But Paul Jacobs, who wrote the **Reporter** story, pointed out that the AEC lacked data on how much radiation had fallen and where. If there was no certainty that falling hair, perishing cattle and the loss of at least one life had resulted from past U.S. tests in Nevada there was enough reasonable doubt, many observers thought, to make officials hesitate.

THE LEVEL IS RISING: Public Health Service officials found the level of strontium-90 in milk, water and human bone to be steadily rising and some said it was half-way to the danger mark. AEC of-

Herblock in Washington Post
"Yaaa—you've been poisoning the air, too. So there!"

ficials insisted the total amount was still small, but Dr. William Neuman, chief of the biochemistry section of the atomic energy project at the University of Rochester, said the significant and ominous fact was that it was rising and that each new test raised the level.

Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) in a radio speech last week called on the U. S. to stop the tests and challenge the Soviet Union to do the same. The Soviet Union, while testing its bombs in Siberia, has not sought to minimize the danger but has called for an international moratorium on tests. The U. S. has insisted on prior "control machinery." Morse said that what we were doing in the name of national security might "produce results just as terrifying as the threat we think we are guarding against."

Insulation

WHEN 300-odd people gathered for an International Consultation on Insulation Board, Hardboard and Particle Board, what happened?

"The Communist east, which is very backward in this field, was present with a large delegation diligently collecting the countless valuable tips dropped by talkative western professors, as well as eager East-West merchants making the best of the occasion to conclude agreements on the purchase of production equipment." To inhibit too free talk by Communist bloc delegates, who probably didn't have too much to contribute at best, non-expert political commissars were present.

—Brooklyn **Tablet**

SHOULD HAPPEN IN WACO

Britons rout KKK as leader admits scabbing, stooling

THE KU KLUX KLAN conquest of England has been beaten back. Last week the Klan beach-heads were being wiped out by an angry press and a laughing British public which saw the top Klansman in the United Kingdom confess all in press interviews and over TV.

The scandal which led to an expose by **Reynold's News** and to furious questioning in Parliament, grew out of the GUARDIAN's request to Cedric Belfrage to look into the matter. Horace Sherman Miller of Waco, Tex., had tried to set up branches all over England to carry the stock KKK wares of anti-Negro and anti-Semitic prejudice.

Ian Shaw, chief Klansman of England, confessed to **Reynold's News** reporter Kenneth Wanstall that the chief Klan aim had been to blacklist and terrorize "Communists, fellow-travellers and left-wingers." He produced a letter from the Klan leader of Clacton-on-sea boasting of how "a few whispered words" had prevented the hiring in a factory of two men who "looked to me to be fellow-travellers."

THE GAME IS UP: Shaw said they had planned to have the U.S. Klan pass a "death sentence" on a "shop steward who was very leftish in his views" just to frighten him, but the chief in Waco thought it too dangerous. Shaw said he was turning over to the police the names of all his fellow "Klansmen in England." When reporter Wanstall asked how he felt about playing the stoolpigeon, Shaw said:

"I recognize the game is up, and I want to get out of things in the best way I can. After all, I am willing to help and tell the truth, so people should look on it in that light... After all, I have done some good work, you know. I worked through the recent engineering strike and reported particulars to news agencies, and others, on the activities of the strikers."

L. C. Glass, arriving in New York last week to take over the post of British Consul General in Washington, commented: "The Ku Klux Klan has as much chance of setting up in Britain as a snowball in hell."

Petition to ban the Bomb

A PETITION to President Eisenhower urging him "to take vigorous steps to effect a ban on the testing of nuclear bombs" is being circulated by the New England Regional Office of the American Friends Service Committee.

In a covering letter that went last week with the petitions Peace Education Secy. Russell Johnson said: "It is true that a few names on petitions don't carry much weight. But it is equally true that a **lot** of names on petitions—tens of thousands of voices raised, on an issue of compelling urgency, when the time is ripe—can do a **lot** of good."

The petition, along with a single-sheet selection of quotations from Dr. Albert Schweitzer's April 23 message on the Bomb, may be had by writing to the American Friends Service Committee, P.O. Box 247, Cambridge 38, Mass.

Robeson sings

(Continued from Page 1)

our hands in our pockets and fork out money to keep him in comfort. We would be fools if we did. Robeson put himself in the doghouse. Let him stay there."

Gordon's broadside was provoked by a letter to the editor of the London **Times** from stage and screen star Flora Robson, who has often appeared with Robeson. She wrote that while she had "no sympathy for his politics" she would "love to hear" again the "most beautiful natural voice of this century, and see him play **Othello**" of which "a new production is awaiting him as soon as it is physically possible for him to come to London." Miss Robson complimented the British Actors Equity Assn. for expressing support of the campaign at its annual conference in April (following a similar resolution by the Co-Operative Party conference), thereby "living up to the best traditions of the English stage."

IN SHAKESPEARE'S NAME: At the Equity meeting, which put Robeson in big headlines for the first time in years, actor Guy Verney moving the resolution said that "as members of the human race" some felt a "moral duty to be concerned"; but as actors they must protest against "a talent like Robeson's" being "wasted for an irrelevant reason." Actress Helena Gloag called it a "political stunt . . . from an international subversive movement" and, after president Felix Aylmer pointed out the resolution was non-political, suggested that anyone accepting this must be "a fool, a coward or a Communist." The resolution of support to the campaign was carried by majority vote.

Miss Robson's letter was followed in the **Times** by one from Prof. John Dover Wilson, former Edinburgh University professor of rhetoric and English literature and outstanding Shakespearean scholar, approving of the movement:

" . . . to invite the great African gentleman with the golden voice, Mr. Paul Robeson, to revisit us, sing to us, and above all interpret for us once again the heroic Negro who is Shakespeare's noblest tragic figure. For some reason or other, which we unregimented people find it difficult to fathom, the Government of the United States refuses to allow him to pass the Statue of Liberty . . . [His performance as Othello] was an unforgettable experience which taught me to understand the play as I had never done before . . . In the name of Shakespeare we appeal to Washington: let him loose upon us!"

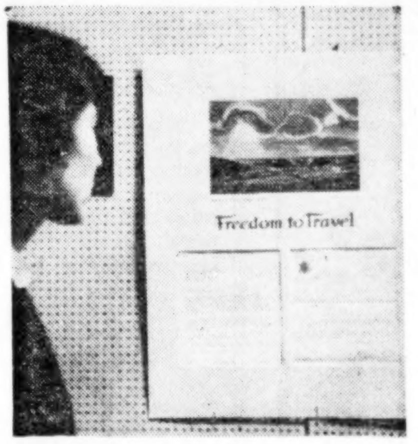
BARBARISM: Commenting in **Reynolds News** (5/12) on Dover Wilson's remarks, Labour Party vice-chairman Tom Driberg wrote: "Surely this alone shows that the campaign to restore Robeson's freedom of movement is not, as some Washington bureaucrats pretend, a mere political stunt. A performance by Robeson is not just like a performance by someone else: it is of unique artistic value. To deprive half the world of the chance of witnessing such a performance is barbarism."

In a statement reported in the **Manchester Guardian** and other papers, 27 MP's said Robeson's political views were "wholly irrelevant to the issue of freedom of travel and of the arts, although we do not necessarily agree with any of them . . . There was never a more vital time for free countries to uphold their professions with regard to freedom of travel, as solemnly undertaken in the UN Declaration of Human Rights. Is this not doubly important in the case of so outstanding an artist as Paul Robeson, who properly belongs to all humanity?"

EMBASSY RUN-AROUND: Will Griffiths, Manchester MP who is chairman of the Natl. Robeson Committee, had requested the U.S. Ambassador to receive an MPs' delegation following receipt by all committee sponsors of an Embassy political "dossier" on the captive artist. They wanted to explain that they were not interested in Robeson's politics but in the denial of his freedom. By GUARDIAN press time Griffiths had received only a printed acknowledgment of his letter from the Embassy. In Manchester, Natl. Committee leaders had asked the U. S. Consul General to receive a deputation "to make a renewed representation on behalf of our plea to President Eisenhower to intercede." The Consul General replied that the Consulate was "not equipped to receive more than a few persons . . . [and] only as individuals", and added:

" . . . American Foreign Service officers abroad are not competent either to receive representations for submission to the U. S. Government, or to forward . . . any such communication . . . The proper channel . . . is through the Foreign Office in London and the British Embassy in Washington."

Griffiths commented: "This is ridiculous. The Foreign Office would rightly say it was no affair of theirs. I have never before heard of a government whose representatives abroad are not competent to receive and forward communications."



MOSCOW and New York are honoring Rockwell Kent's 75th birthday and his fight for the right to travel. Just as the State Dept. prevents Picasso from coming here for his 75th birthday show at the Museum of Modern Art, it is preventing Kent from attending his memorial show in U.S.S.R. later this year. In the meantime, the Art of Today Gallery, Great Northern Hotel, N.Y.C., will exhibit Kent's works on June 12, 13 and 14 under the auspices of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Proceeds will help finance his continuing legal challenge to the State Dept. And a dinner in Kent's honor will be given at the same hotel on June 19 by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

They want him to come over

THE NATIONAL PAUL ROBESON COMMITTEE, organized in London last year to "invite Paul Robeson to sing in Britain and request the American Government to allow him to come," has received many messages of support from leading Britons during the past year. Message-senders include:

Prof. Gilbert Murray, noted scholar and critic; **Dr. Norman Bentwich**, former Attorney General, government of Palestine; **Phyllis Bottome**, author; **Rosamund John**, actress; **Father Trevor Huddleston**, South African leader; **Hesketh Pearson**, author; **Benn W. Levy**, playwright; **Sir Compton Mackenzie**, author; **Naomi Mitchison**, author; **Joseph Needham**, biochemist; **Leonard Woolf**, author; **Augustus John**, painter; **Sir Francis Meynell**, designer and writer; **Julian Huxley**, biologist; **Sir Arthur Bryant**, historian; **Benjamin Britten**, composer; **Helen Cam**, historian; **Sir Herbert Read**, philosopher; **Ritchie Calder**, author and journalist; **Kingsley Amis**, author; **Sir Richard Acland**, educator; and the **Earl Baldwin of Bewdley**.

FOREIGN-BORN VICTORIES

Supervisory parole whittled down

Special to the GUARDIAN

CHICAGO

FEDERAL District Judge Walter J. LaBuy dismissed an indictment against James A. Keller, a non-citizen, which sought his imprisonment for refusal to answer questions about his associations and activities while awaiting deportation.

Albert F. Manion, Asst. U.S. Attorney, acting on instructions from the Attorney General, asked that the indictment be dismissed because of a Supreme Court decision April 29 in a similar case.

The Supreme Court ruled in the case of George I. Witkovich, also a Chicago resident, that the only questions the Attorney General could ask a deportable non-citizen were "to make sure he is available for deportation." It is estimated that over 3,000 deportation cases could be affected by the ruling. Both Keller and Witkovich were represented by Pearl M. Hart, Chicago attorney.

●

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE SUPREME COURT on May 20 upheld a lower court decision in St. Louis, in the case of Mrs. Antonia Sentner, that the Attorney-General has no right to require an alien awaiting deportation to quit the Communist Party.

CORRECTION

In the story of the American Forum in the GUARDIAN (5/20) Anne Braden of Louisville, Ky., was listed as a vice president; she is in fact a member of the national committee. Benjamin F. McLaurin, field rep. of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, was also listed as a national committee member. After the issue went to press it was learned that McLaurin said he was in no way associated with the American Forum.

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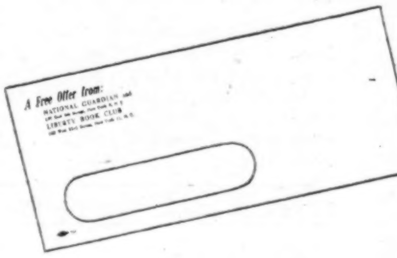

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U.S.S.R.—YOUR QUESTIONS ANSWERED. New pamphlet (May 20)—40 pages. 50 questions on most important aspects of Soviet society; its government, national and family economy, industry, agriculture, science, engineering, education and culture. Answered with reliable, up-to-date information. Single copy 20c; 10 at 15c each; 20 or more 12½c each. Sample free if you will consider distribution to friends. Published by National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 114 E. 32 St., New York 16, N.Y.

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The ex-Marxist-Leninist's Song

In the issue of April 8, the GUARDIAN printed "The Marxist-Leninist's Song" by M. McGonagall, a satirical poem which first appeared in "The Rhyming Reasoner," a British "journal of indiscretion," published by a group of British Communists who have charged the leadership of the British CP with dogmatism and bureaucracy. Reader H.R. of Hollywood wrote that he was "incensed" with the poem and sat himself down to write a counter-parody which he said he hoped we would print in the "spirit of fair play in our GUARDIAN." H.R.'s poem appears below.

(Tune: The Major-General's Song from "The Pirates of Penzance")

EX-M.-L. I am the very model of a new Ex-Marxist-Leninist,
I sneer at old Joe Stalin and I'm anti-anti-feminist
Though I know all my history from Hitler back to Hannibal,
I can't "dig" dialectics, so there can't be no such animal.
That Communistic Party is a place you'll never find me in,
But don't you dare to call me a political Bohemian,
I'm liberal and radical, a real do-gooder through and through,
And pay the nicest analyst to soothe my id and ego, too.
CHORUS. We pay the nicest analyst to soothe our ids and egos, too.
EX-M.-L. Since I've become convinced that discipline's the worst of menaces,
I'm not so sure the world, in fact, did not begin with Genesis.
I think all hard-shelled Bolshies with their Godless ideology,
Should join a church (like Dulles) and brush up on their hymnology.
CHORUS. We're scared by propagandists, agitators and polemicists.
That's why we're also models of this new Ex-Marxist-Leninist.
EX-M.-L. Now I'll admit that way back in those nasty old depression days,
I used to curse the "bosses" and saluted with my fist upraised.
I crammed on Marx and Lenin like a Bible student boning up,
And dreamed about that blessed day when revolution would erupt.
But with the years my waistline, my neuroses, and my income grew,
Plus blacklists and subpoenas and the problems with the "comrades" too.
Besides, those ingrate workers just ignored the glorious deeds I did,
And when I learned that Stalin wasn't God, I really flipped my lid.
CHORUS. And when we learned that Stalin wasn't God, we also flipped our lids.
EX-M-L. So Hallelujah, now I'm rid of all my old subversive ties;
It's lots more fun to criticize and criticize and criticize.
Those horrid books that didn't work, I burned them up, they'll not be missed;
My only orders, now, come from my boss and my psychiatrist.
CHORUS. Our only orders, now, come from our boss and our psychiatrist.
EX-M.-L. And now that I've discovered Russia's not the new Utopia,
I cannot be accused of having Slavophile myopia.
Had Uncle Joe and Nikky used my mighty brain to show them how,
No doubt, both Ike and Wilson would be holding party cards by now.
At any rate, there's one thing that I know for jolly certain sure,
That Leninistic Russia stinks—their Socialism just ain't pure.
I know some day (the Lord knows when) our Socialism will appear
With Anglo-Saxon gentleness—with nary drop of blood nor tear.
CHORUS. (Last two lines) We know some day, etc.
EX-M.-L. In fact, when fifty-one percent will vote for Socialism, then
You'll see how all our capitalists cheerfully will say "amen"—
Give up their banks and industry, while shouting "Hail Democracy,"
Retire to their yachts and disappear into the deep blue sea.
CHORUS. They'll all shout "Hail Democracy," while losing banks and industry,
We'll see them to their yachts and watch them disappear into the sea.

—H. R.

Jewish Chorus sings in N.Y. May 25

THE Jewish People's Chorus of New York is dedicating its Annual Spring Concert Saturday, May 25, 8:30 p.m., in New York's Town Hall, to commemoration of Jacob Schaefer and A. Goldfaden, father of the Jewish theater in America. At the concert the chorus will perform the "Two Brothers" oratorio, based upon the poem by I.L. Peretz and set to music by Schaefer. Goldfaden's "Rozhinkes mit Mandlen" will also be featured, with music arranged by Maurice Rauch, conductor of the chorus.

Assisting artists are Florence Fields, soprano; Howard Freed, tenor; William Wolfe, bass; and Lewis Norman, narrator. There will also be Yiddish, English and Israeli songs.

Peacetime draft

RICHMOND, CALIF.

Our Constitution makes a military draft in peacetime null and void in these words:

"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

J. N. McCullough

AT 10 A.M. SUN., MAY 26

Sobell boat ride to Bear Mountain

A DAY devoted to Morton Sobell, and in tribute to the Rosenbergs, is set for Sunday, May 26, with families throughout the New York area gathering on a boat ride to Bear Mountain.

The Sobell Committee has charted a modern, 3,000-passenger steamer for the trip up the Hudson.

The boat ride will feature folk music, square dancing, special games for children and a showing of the new Sobell film strip, "Was Justice Done?" At Bear Mountain there will be swimming and picnicking.

The steamer leaves Battery Park Landing at 10 a.m. on Sunday, and will stop for additional passengers at the 134th St. Pier on the Hudson River. The steamer will be back in New York by 9 p.m.

Tickets, which are $2.50 for adults (round-trip) and $1 for children, may be obtained from the Sobell Committee, 940 Broadway, N.Y.C. ALgonquin 4-9983.

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Lonesome Traveller
I Know Where I'm Going
Woody's Rag & 900 Miles
Sixteen Tons
Follow The Drinking Gourd
When the Saints Go Marching In
I've Got a Home in That Rock
Hush Little Baby
Go Where I Send Thee
Goodnight Irene

ALTHOUGH this album has just been released we predict it will become a collector's classic. Recorded at Carnegie Hall with applause and approval included, it places the listener in center-orchestra at the concert. There is an excitement about the performance that never could have been captured if it had been recorded under studio conditions. The stimulus of the tremendous audience reaction to the performers results in an enthusiastic but relaxed performance. There is a full forty minutes of wonderful folk singing on this record.

Anyone who ever stamped his foot to "Rock Island Line" or joined in on "Wimoweh" will want to have this record. And for those who have never been to a Hootenanny, this record is an experience that should not be missed. If there are teenagers in the family, better buy two copies because this album is for all ages.

We are so enthusiastic about this album, we make this offer: BUY IT, IF YOU DON'T AGREE IT IS ONE OF THE MOST EXCITING ALBUMS OF MUSIC (ANY KIND) EVER PRODUCED, SEND IT BACK FOR A FULL REFUND!

The album sells for $4.98 at most stores; some discount houses sell it for less but add postage and handling charges on mail orders. Because we would like every Guardian family to have a copy, our price is

$3.95 and we pay postage and handling costs

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Laugh it up!

IN YERMANI, Georgian Republic, U.S.S.R., there was a chap a year ago who had lived 154 years. Well, you could say, why not, with them holding a gun at his head?

So, maybe that accounts for the last 39 years, but what about the first 115?

Another fellow in this book (**Health & Long Life**, by Charlotte and Dyson Carter, 753 Bathurst St., Toronto, 4, Canada; $1) was still cutting caracoles on horseback last year in Azerbaijan at 147; and still another, a miner named Ivan V. Zhizhin, was photographed playing a vigorous game of **gorodki** at 102.

Never mind what **gorodki** is; what will you be playing at 102?

NORMALLY, about here in this report, we should start talking about our GUARDIAN Vitamins Geriatric Formula and how you, too, can be a century plant. And perhaps after another 99 years, we may indeed have a GUARDIAN **gorodki** player at whom we can point with pride.

Meanwhile, we want to let you in on another secret of longevity the Carters smuggled in from Russia. Pavlov recognized it, and if it was good enough for Pavlov it's good enough for us.

LAUGHTER! The Soviet medics call laughter a kind of "compressed rest." They say an hour of laughter and gaiety is like taking a long rest-cure. It's an old Russian custom.

Well, we happen to have just about the finest hour of laughter and gaiety in these United States over in the other column here, that Vanguard LP album of the Weavers at Carnegie Hall. Pete Seeger's version of **Greensleeves** alone should add years to your life.

So just grab your GUARDIAN ball-point and fill in the coupon at the left: one Weavers album; one vial of GUARDIAN Gorodki Formula; one nest of four GUARDIAN ball-points for $1; here's $10, keep the change.

A hundred years from now you'll thank us for this suggestion—with that fourth ball-point, in all likelihood.

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For 35 yr. olds and up
Nationally advertised brand: $7.11
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100 capsules, $3.75 ppd.

the SPECTATOR

East-West passage

Special to the GUARDIAN

LONDON

WHILE hydrogen-happy governments remain far apart in the "discussion" of how humanity may avoid self-liquidation, East-West relations on cultural and citizen levels are beginning to emerge from the big freeze which followed Hungary and Suez. Seen from here, the most encouraging sign for peace is the tide of young people signing up for the summer's big event, the August Youth Festival in Moscow. The festival is shaping up as an East-West meeting of a new type, motivated by the same common hunger for peace as were such events in the past, but with a more genuine clash of debate between different approaches and philosophies.

After Hungary, contacts between plain citizens of the socialist and capitalist worlds were reduced almost to zero. Cultural exchanges came to a halt after London's extraordinary welcome to the Moscow Ballet last year but have begun again. The British Royal Ballet's canceled return visit to the U.S.S.R. cannot now take place before 1958, when the Moscow Art Theater is scheduled to come here. But London has recently seen and heard the U.S.S.R.'s Gilels and Rostropovich, Poland's folk dancers and Yiddish Theater, Hungarian and Rumanian conductors Serencsik and Silvestri, and Hungarian pianist Annie Fischer.

SHADOW OF THE BOMB: Beyond the curtain Western culture has hardly had a hearing, outside of the printed page, during the winter of the big freeze. The ball has been carried mainly by French singer and movie star Yves Montand. For his appearances in the socialist world's biggest stadiums there were flocks of disappointed ticket-seekers for each of the hundreds of thousands who got in. Next month the thaw will begin spectacularly in Warsaw with Sir Laurence Olivier—not at the height of his career and popularity—in five performances of Shakespeare's **Titus Andronicus** and the Comédie Francaise in 10 performances of **Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme.**

British organizations for friendship with socialist countries are emerging from a semi-paralysis forced on them by last year's events. They are finding that under the shadow of the H-bomb there is a livelier popular interest than ever in getting better acquainted.

LOOKING AT PEOPLE: For ordinary tourism to socialist countries, the prospects looked far brighter than was anticipated. One tourist outfit reported "many more inquiries than last year" about trips to the U.S.S.R. and Poland, and especially to Czechoslovakia which is making an all-out tourist bid with an inclusive $5-a-day tariff. This concern has also organized four summer tours to Hungary.

A new departure in British-Soviet cultural exchanges is a show of contemporary British painting, sculpture and graphics which Soviet organizations are bringing to Moscow and Leningrad—to be followed later by a Soviet artists' exhibit here. Called "Looking at People," the idea grew out of a show by sculptor Betty Rea, painter Carel Weight and graphic artist Paul Hogarth which a quarter of a million Britons have seen since 1955.

The show going to Moscow, now drawing crowds and critical praise at the municipal gallery in the poor South London borough of Camberwell, is expanded with works by Ruskin Spear, Derrick Greaves, Alistair Grant, Edward Ardizzone, George Fullard—bringing to their work a wide variety of techniques and philosophies. For Soviet artists and public, hungry to see more of other countries' art, it will offer a bridge not only to Britain's progressive artists but to the ordinary people of the capitalist and colonial worlds who are depicted with talent, affection and insight.

1,800 GOING TO MOSCOW: Meanwhile the British preparatory committee for the Youth Festival, despite furious onslaughts against its efforts from high places, is being inundated with last-minute applications. Over 1,200 young Britons are already set for the Moscow trip and a total contingent of 1,800 is anticipated. It will include scores of leading swimmers, boxers, weightlifters, wrestlers, cyclists, basketball and table tennis stars, and for the first time Scotland will express its national sentiment by sending its own teams.

Responding to the invitation from Metropolitan Nikolai, and heedless of British church leaders' viewing-with-alarm, some 200 young Christians of assorted denominations will go along to participate in debates with Marxist and theological students in Moscow. Students from all major British universities—members of campus societies devoted to everything from folk dance to exploration—all look forward to constructive huddles with their opposite numbers. Other pilgrims will include puppet-theater, jazz ensembles, miners and other trade union youth groups, Jewish youth, London's Youth Choir, and champions of rock-and-roll contests now in the final stages at British dance halls. Britain's "angry young man" dramatist John Osborne will present most of the original London cast in his hit play **Look Back in Anger**, and the Theater Workshop will do a modern production of **Macbeth** "with rifles and Sten-guns and stressing the theme of how power corrupts."

A DESIRE TO ARGUE: If British and Soviet youth don't each find out something about how the other ticks, it will be due to a shortage of interpreters; but Moscow University students have been asked to remain in the city to meet, help and interpret for the visitors, and it it reported that few of them needed asking twice. In all strata of British youth (even one Viscount has signed up) the desire to get acquainted has triumphed over the warnings of doom.

"Many in our party," a spokesman for the preparatory committee said, "are going with a very critical attitude. They want to present their opinions in free discussions on the problems that face young people everywhere. They want to enjoy themselves with others of their generation—but they also want to argue. None of their elders and betters seems able to explain what's wrong about that."

—Cedric Belfrage